1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

342 476 574

The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

356 358

Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques. *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

341 177

Domes are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

341 764 177

Tiled roofs are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

341 177

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

341 346

Tents. The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

342 [286]

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhazhen*, sepa-

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
S
361
341
102

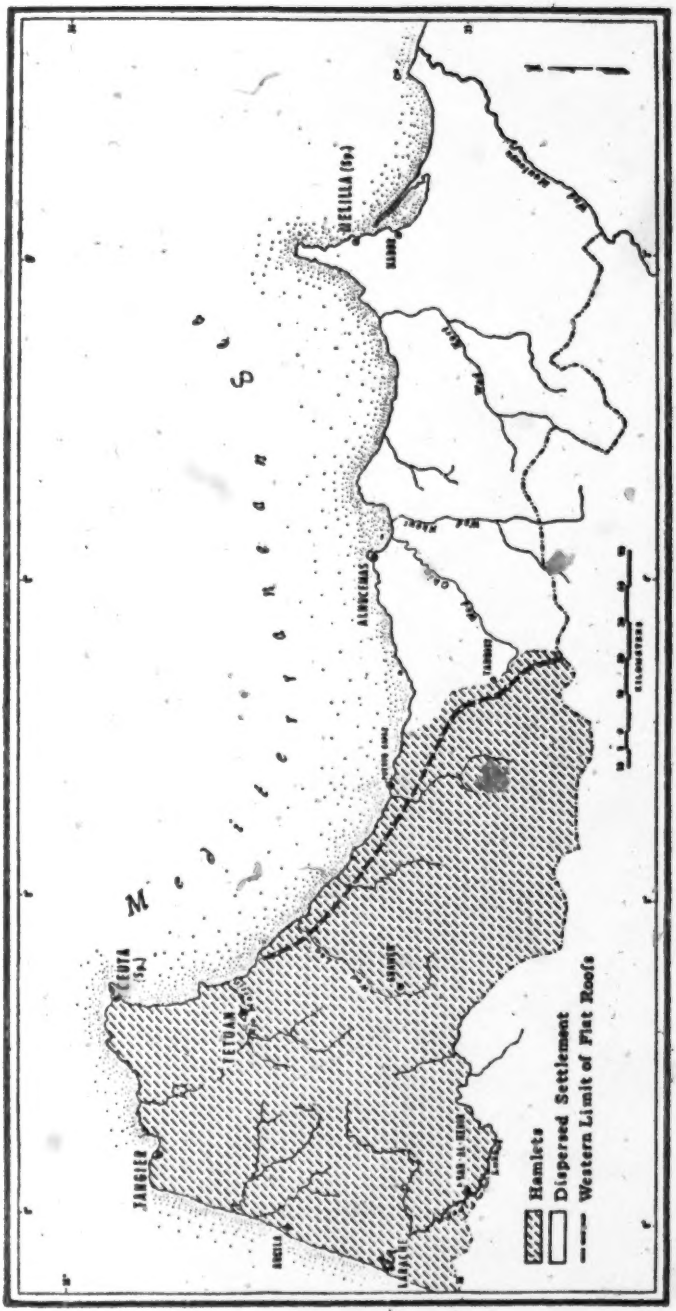

Fig. 15. Northern Morocco: settlement morphology.

/p. 68/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R 4 5
361
342
191
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341

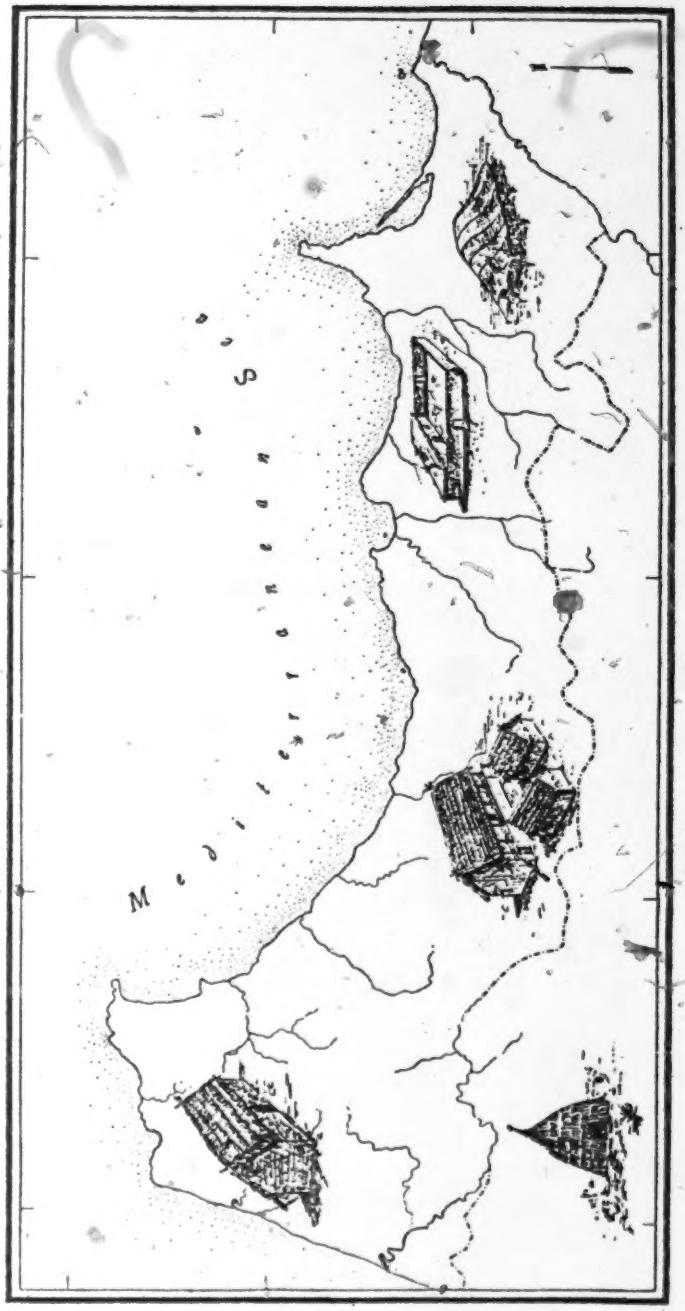

Fig. 17. Northern Morocco: principal types of houses.

/p. 70/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[7] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[8] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[7] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[8] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 342 a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them S [417] with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the [513] second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer [352] (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions S [353] for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept S in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, sepa- [574] rate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the S rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly [335] skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with [341] carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal [252] brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. [354] Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two [352] small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

R Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), and the 342 walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy [351] one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be R used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the [351] open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are some- [231] what longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflec- [171] tion of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas [333] sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

R Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from [171] those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a [362] thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual R progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has 342 a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The 556 best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

R An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of dis- 341 tinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques 346 in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types 171 of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A, [See p. 127--Analyst] B, [See p. 126--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

341 346 171 in the central highlands is that at the zawia of Tifah in Targist; the nearest minarets are in the territories of Aith Tuzin and L-Khmas, 60 and 75 kilometers away. Whitewashed domes or ornate corners decorate the shrines of some saints (pl. 9, *a*), but for every saint honored by such structures there are at least fifty others with shrines that are not fundamentally different from the common types of houses. Even granaries and grist mills are built in the one local style (fig. 22).